

REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS

FOR THE

Week ending the 5th January 1884.

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

No.	Names of newspapers.	Place of publication.	Number of subscribers.	Dates of papers received and examined for the week.
BENGALI.				
Fortnightly.				
1	"Sansodhini"	Chittagong	663	
2	"Tripurā Vártávaha"	Comilla	.....
3	"Prem Prachárin"	Nawabgunge, Barrack-pore.	.....
Weekly.				
4	"Alok"	Calcutta	.....
5	"Ananda Bazar Patriká"	Ditto	700	31st December 1883.
6	"Arya Darpan"	Ditto	150	28th ditto.
7	"Bangabási"	Ditto	8,500	
8	"Bártábaha"	Pubna	.....
9	"Bhárat Bandhu"	Calcutta	.....
10	"Bhárat Hitaishi"	Burrishal	450	
11	"Bhárat Mihir"	Mymensingh	713	
12	"Bardwán Sanjivani"	Burdwan	282	
13	"Bikrampore Patriká"	Dacca	.....	1st January 1884.
14	"Cháruvártá"	Sherapore, Mymensingh	539	28th December 1883.
15	"Dacca Prakash"	Dacca	626	24th ditto.
16	"Education Gazette"	Hooghly	745	30th ditto.
17	"Grámvártá Prakásiká"	Comercoolly	267	
18	"Halisahar Prakásiká"	Calcutta	29th ditto.

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No.	Names of newspapers.	Place of publication.	Number of subscribers.	Dates of papers received and examined for the week.
BENGALI—concluded.				
<i>Weekly.</i>				
19	"Hindu Ranjiká"	Beauleah, Rajshahye...	200	26th December 1883.
20	"Játíya Suhrid"	Calcutta	700	
21	"Medini"	Midnapore	.....
22	"Murshidábád Patriká"	Berhampore	418	
23	"Murshidábád Pratinidhi"	Ditto	.....
24	"Navavibhákar"	Calcutta	850	31st ditto.
25	"Paridarshak"	Sylhet	421	23rd ditto.
26	"Prajá Bandhu"	Chandernagore	287	25th Dec. 1883 & 1st Jan. 1884.
27	"Pratikár"	Berhampore	275	28th December 1883.
28	"Rajshahye Samvád"	Beauleah	.....
29	"Rungpore Dik Prákás"	Kakiná, Rungpore	220	27th ditto.
30	"Sádháraní"	Chinsurah	500	23rd ditto.
31	"Sahachar"	Calcutta	500	
32	"Samaya"	Ditto	.....	24th ditto.
33	"Sanjivani"	Ditto	.....	29th ditto.
34	"Sáraswat Patra"	Dacca	.....
35	"Shakti"	Calcutta	.....	27th ditto.
36	"Som Prákás"	Changripottá, 24-Perghs.	.....	31st ditto.
37	"Sulabha Samachár"	Calcutta	3,000	29th ditto.
38	"Surabhi"	Deoghur	.....	31st ditto.
39	"Udbodhan"	Calcutta	.....	28th ditto.
<i>Daily.</i>				
40	"Dainik Vártá"	Hoogli	.....	22nd to 31st December 1883.
41	"Samvad Prabhákar"	Calcutta	250	21st to 29th ditto.
42	"Samvád Púrnachandrodaya"	Ditto	300	28th Dec. 1883 to 3rd Jan. 1884.
43	"Samachár Chandriká"	Ditto	625	
44	"Banga Vidyá Prákásiká"	Ditto	500	29th ditto to 1st ditto.
45	"Prabháti"	Ditto	500	
ENGLISH AND URDU.				
<i>Weekly.</i>				
46	"Urdu Guide"	Calcutta	365	29th December 1883.
HINDI.				
<i>Weekly.</i>				
47	"Behar Bandhu"	Bankipore	.....
48	"Bhárat Mitra"	Calcutta	1,500	27th ditto.
49	"Sár Sudhánidhi"	Ditto	600	31st ditto.
50	"Uchit Baktá"	Ditto	.....	29th ditto.
51	"Hindi Samachár"	Bhagulpore	.....
PERSIAN.				
<i>Weekly.</i>				
52	"Jám-Jahán-numá"	Calcutta	250	28th ditto.
URDU.				
<i>Bi-weekly.</i>				
53	"Akhbar-i-darusaltanat"	Calcutta	.....
54	"Amir-ul-Akbar"	Ditto	.....	31st ditto.
55	"Jarida-i-numaish"	Ditto	.....	31st ditto.
ASSAMESE.				
<i>Monthly.</i>				
56	"Assam Vilásiní"	Sibsagar	.....
57	"Assam News"	Ditto	.....
URIYA.				
<i>Weekly.</i>				
58	"Utkal Dipiká"	Cuttack	188	15th ditto.
59	"Utkal Darpan"	Balasore	200	16th ditto.
60	"Balasore Samvad Váhika"	Ditto	92	13th ditto.
61	"Purusottam Patriká"	Pooree	330	17th ditto.
<i>Monthly.</i>				
62	"Sabaka"	Cuttack	.....
63	"Taraka"	Midnapore	.....	November 1883.
HINDI.				
<i>Monthly.</i>				
64	"Kshatriya Patriká"	Patna	400	

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The *Dainik Vártá*, of the 22nd December, advocates the separation of judicial from executive work. To illustrate the evil consequences of a union of these two

functions in one and the same individual, the writer points out the trouble and expense which are caused to suitors when executive officers are on tour.

2. The *Paridarshak*, of the 23rd December, says that the Chief Commissioner of Assam is now at Tejapore. He has brought soldiers from Cachar and East Assam.

The Aká raids.
He will not leave Tejapore without doing something to punish the Ákás. He announced long before this that he would not make war if the Ákás released Baboo Annadá. The hillmen may now release the captive after the demonstration that has been made, but they should be taught a lesson.

3. The *Sádhárani*, of the 23rd December, contains an article on Lord Ripon. The Editor remarks that His Excellency, even before his appointment to the

Viceroyalty, used to take great interest in Indian affairs. He has not come to this country either for money, which he has in abundance, or for exercise of power, as in that case he would not have overlooked the spirit of insubordination shown by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He has come here to deliver people from their sufferings. But in seeking to do this noble work, he has met with considerable opposition, and reaped abuse and scorn.

4. The same paper indignantly repudiates the charge of disloyalty and dislike for Englishmen which the *Indian Daily News* has brought against native news-papers.

5. The *Dainik Vártá*, of the 24th December, condemns the *concordat* about the Ilbert Bill. We give a few extracts from its article headed "It is no treaty but ruin."

Is it come to this? Do all hopes and expectations end here? So little rain after so much rumbling! And thus is the firmness and boldness of Lord Ripon shaken! The strong gain their victory even over the godlike Ripon, the defender of the weak. The Himalayas are shaken at the roaring of the clouds! The lion is afraid of the wolf! The ox's head aches at the bite of a mosquito! The lord of animal creation is afraid of the cat, and Lord Ripon makes a treaty with his antagonists from fear of offending them! If the hands of native civilians are to be tied up in this way, why is the right conceded to them only in name? Withdraw the cursed Ilbert Bill, and the people will tolerate the withdrawal. Do not do injustice in the name of justice. If the jury system is to be introduced, introduce it for all alike. Until native offenders are granted the privilege of being tried by native jurors the people will not stop. The Europeans have become victorious—their work ends there.

It is now the people's turn. The writer asks the 250 millions of natives to raise a cry. Experience teaches him that victory is to be gained by outcry, by bluster, by threats, and by showing a rebellious spirit. The people are to act as they are taught. They must be up and doing; indifference will ruin them!

The writer can tolerate all sorts of oppression on his own person, but he cannot bear the idea that his descendants will be obliged to put up with them. He has great apprehensions for the future. The people should never agree to the terms of the *concordat*. Duty, conscience, and interest all teach the same lesson. People should yet make an effort to see that Lord Ripon remains unmoved.

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 22d, 1883.

PARIDARSHAK,
Dec. 23rd, 1883.

SADHARANI,
Dec. 23rd, 1883.

{ SADHARANI.

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 24th, 1883.

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 24th, 1883.

6. The same paper says that the Government is anxious to protect the interests of the planters. It should, however, proceed cautiously. If the Government shews the least signs of submission, the planters will become the real rulers of the land, and the Government will be a Government of the planters. The planters of South Sylhet have demanded a European Magistrate on the plea that the coolies occasionally become turbulent and untractable without a European Magistrate. The demand is perfectly inexplicable. Native Magistrates can try the coolies, and there is no harm if a European comes before a native as a complainant. With a native Magistrate in South Sylhet it is rather the coolies who will be placed at a disadvantage, for they cannot have Europeans tried by native Magistrates.

CHARU VARTA,
Dec. 24th, 1883.

7. The *Cháruvártá*, of the 24th December, remarks that the natives of India are bound together by one vast force. Any mutilation of this force is fraught with danger. It was very feeble during the administration of Lord Lytton. Oppression betrays weakness. The Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act have brought English rule into contempt. The ruler can tie the hands and feet of his subject, but he cannot control their mind and thought. Threats have no influence there. Oppression stimulates the mind and makes it unconquerable, and love induces men to sacrifice even their lives. The force by which Lord Ripon governs is the real force of government. Who will not bow down before such openness and so much nobleness? Submission to such a rule is not subversive of independence. Real freedom is enjoyed under a wise and honest ruler. Wild animals may fear the bayonet, but the human soul is not terrified at the thundering of the canon. Major Baring added indomitable power to this force of government during the administration of Lord Ripon.

CHARU VARTA.

8. The same paper gives a summary of Mr. Dampier's speech at the first meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council.

Self-Government.
Mr. Dampier remarked that the India Government had no objection to the Union Committees and to the Local Boards; that experiments were to be made in villages to see how the unions would work; and that Mr. Westmacott had been appointed to make the experiments. The writer had fears as to the prospects of Self-Government owing to the indifference of the Lieutenant-Governor. The despatch of the Secretary of State completed his disappointment. Self-Government appears to have been a figment of the imagination. As the existence of a man without a head is impossible, so the existence of the Union Committees and Local Boards without the Central Board seems to be impossible, for no Union or Local Board can work with success under the authority of the Magistrate.

CHARU VARTA.

9. The same paper says that the Board of Revenue is of opinion that the license tax has been assessed in Bengal with care, and its operation may be pronounced

satisfactory. But the Lieutenant-Governor says that in proportion to the population Bengal pays less than Bombay and the North-Western Provinces. If properly assessed, Bengal can pay much more than 14 lakhs.

The writer is of opinion that the assessors never under-estimate the income of any trader, and it does not appear that they are any way slow in the performance of their duty. Bombay and other provinces have more large towns than Bengal. These are inhabited by tradesmen and artizans who pay the tax; so these provinces pay more than Bengal, which has very few towns as the census returns show.

The writer is afraid lest the assessors thus encouraged by the Lieutenant-Governor begin their work of plunder with renewed vigor and greater cruelty.

SAMAYA,
Dec. 24th, 1883.

10. The *Samaya*, of the 24th December, enumerates the 36 recommendations of the Education Commission on primary education, and remarks that education is always costly.

The Report of the Education Commission. But the Commission wants to meet the cost of primary education, it would seem from recommendations 30 and 31, by fresh taxation. The people of India are poor. If they are to educate their children at their own cost, education will make no progress for 20 years to come. Why is not the example of Germany and other civilized countries followed in matters of primary education? What is the good of importing inspecting staff from England at Rs. 10,000 per year or more? Two natives can be entertained with that sum. The Government is patronizing its countrymen to its heart's content—Is it still not satisfied? In the Opium Department lakhs are spent needlessly every year for the support of European officers. Will the natives eat up the opium cakes if they are employed in that department? Has theft been put a stop to by the employment of so many Europeans? Why are Europeans entertained in the Forest Department simply for watching trees? Why is money wasted by keeping up two mint establishments in India? The Calcutta Mint may safely be abolished; much saving may be effected by entertaining an increased number of natives in the higher ranks of the Police Department. But the Government is not disposed to effect savings by sacrificing the interests of its countrymen. The writer predicted, before the publication of the report, that it would be disappointing; that all the cries of the natives would be so much crying in the wilderness. Of what avail are the cries of a subject race? What is education to a subject race? The sole object of a subject nation should be to fill the coffers of the conquerors. This is an eternal rule. What could the Education Commission do when the Government had tied its hands from the very beginning in writing the report. The members have prefaced their report with the remark that the Government will not be able to make increased provision for education. It is idle for a subject race to entertain such high expectations.

11. The same paper remarks that since an unworthy conduct was shown by Mr. Norris from the seat of judgment,

The Dacca student's case.

an opinion had been gaining ground in the

SAMAYA.

country that the High Court had lost its prestige. This opinion was confirmed when the Judges showed themselves strenuous advocates of the perpetuation of an invidious race distinction. So nobody was surprised at the judgment of Mr. Cunningham in the Dacca student's case on appeal. The perusal of the report of the case has led the writer to think that a slight fine was enough to meet the requirements of justice. But either on account of the intricate evolutions in the legal intelligence of the Judge, or on account of the imperceptible influence of the agitation on the Ilbert Bill, Rajnath had to be sent back to jail. There is no hope of an impartial administration of justice in a court, the Judges of which have lost their sense of justice in political agitation, and are guided by the prejudices of race and colour. How can justice in such a case be expected when the Magistrate's judgment shows the influence of political agitation, and when the trial is before a Judge whom the other Judges thought fit to be entrusted with the drawing up of the Ilbert Bill Minute, a document so full of partiality? Justice was not done to Baboo Surendranath, nor was it done to Rajnath. The writer then quotes from the *Statesman*, and remarks that nothing can more impair the loyalty of the people than unfair administration of justice, and no one is so great an enemy to society as the Judge who outrages the sense of justice which is inherent in man, and nothing degrades a subject race more than the wrong doings of the conquering race.

SAMAYA,
Dec. 24th, 1883.

12. The same paper asks whether the *concordat* is worthy of the Government of Lord Ripon—a settlement with an association which has threatened and abused

The Concordat.
the Government, tried to sow the seeds of disaffection, encouraged the volunteers to lay down their arms and spread calumnies of the Viceroy. What are the natives to learn from this? They, it seems, are to follow the example of the Defence Association when any legislation is not to their liking, otherwise they will have no remedy. The Government is not aware of the dire result of the agitation. But it will have to regret it one day. There is no doubt that the example set by the Defence Association will produce baneful results. The whole of India is crying with one voice, "Let the Ilbert Bill be thrown into the Ganges."

SAMAYA

13. The same paper remarks that every one is displeased with the transfer of Mr. McGuire to the 24-Pergunnahs,

Mr. McGuire.
but if people know the secret they will have very little to complain of. The European civilians cannot be removed from the service; so where are men like Mr. McGuire and Mr. Lewis to be placed? They were sent to Chittagong because they were bad. But they did not mend even there. There is only one remedy, they are to be kept under surveillance, and so has Mr. McGuire been kept under surveillance in the 24-Pergunnahs.

SAMAYA.

14. The same paper remarks that clause (d) of section 50 of the Bengal Tenancy Bill provides that permanent ryots will be able to lease out the land

The Rent Bill.
for the purposes of cultivation. The writer says that this will not protect the actual cultivator. The writer does not understand why under-ryots will not have permanent rights. This will indirectly deprive the cultivators who really increase the wealth of the community of all permanent rights in the land. So the writer requests the Select Committee to make such provisions that rents may not exceed certain prescribed limits. If any ryot does not cultivate for three years, his permanent interest in the land should come to an end, and such interest should accrue to the man who had actually cultivated for those three years.

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 25th, 1883.

15. The *Danik Vártá*, of the 25th December, asks the Government to change the present constitution of the Indian

*The constitution of the British Indian
Government.*

Government. If India is to be governed for

the good of her people, the representative system should be introduced into all the Legislative Councils. If laws are to be made for the good of the people, the opinion of the people should be consulted. But if India is to be governed in the interests of the planters, then away with the hypocritical pretences of conscientiousness, impartiality, and so on. Let the government be placed in the hands of the Anglo-Indian planters and merchants.

PRAJABANDHU,
Dec. 25th, 1883.

16. The *Prajábandhu*, of the 25th December, recommends that Lord Ripon should be a little more strict than at present, otherwise the country will go to

European Judges.
ruin. The worthlessness of Sir Ashley Eden and Mr. Thompson has suffered European Magistrates to take undue liberties in the mofussil. The patience of Lord Ripon has made the Judges of the High Court lose their head. Streams of injustice are flowing on all sides, as in times of anarchy. The European Judges have become mad. They should not be allowed to administer justice as long as they are not cured of their malady. Let a circular be issued that European Judges will have no power of trying criminal cases for six months. If they do not improve in these six months they should be sent home.

HINDU RANJIKĀ,
Dec. 26th, 1888.

17. The *Hindu Ranjikā*, of the 26th December, is of opinion that

The Bengal Tenancy Bill.

by means of the Bengal Tenancy Bill Government is going to render nugatory the Permanent Settlement on the pretence of doing good to the ryots ; but it will

confer upon them no permanent benefit. It will simply create litigation and ill-feeling between the zemindar and the ryot. In such a serious matter, the authorities should grant both parties sufficient time to make their grievances known to the Government. It would be wrong to pass the Bill in hot haste without paying due attention to the arguments of the parties interested. The Bill has indeed been before the Indian Legislative Council for upwards of a year. But the public during this period has been so deeply absorbed in such important matters as the Ilbert Bill and the Self-Government Bill that they have had scarcely time to give their thought to the Bengal Tenancy Bill. No one has yet been able to say about the Bill all that he has to say. Under such circumstances the writer thinks the passing of the Bill should be postponed. The Lieutenant-Governor is anxious to get through the Bill during the present Session, but Lord Ripon should be more considerate.

18. The same paper observes that the civil courts issue their processes

The debtor before a Court of slowly one by one in the hope of benefiting Justice.

the debtors. This is very mischievous both to

the debtor and to the creditor. The courts are becoming hungry. The cost of litigation is increasing. The parties go to the court for getting some advantage, but they are both ruined.

19. A correspondent of the same paper writing from Handial says that

The Handial post-office.

the authorities will, it seems, never pay attention to the irregularities in the Handial

post-office. Neither letters, nor money-orders, nor value-payaable parcels reach in time. The peon scarcely makes his appearance once in a week in the interior.

20. The *Samvād Prabhākar*, of the 26th December, says that

The Concordat.

Lord Ripon raised the expectations of the people of India very high, but his counsellors

have plunged them into a sea of disappointment. Anglo-Indians have got the victory. The pledges of Her Majesty, the justice of the English Government, the promises of the Liberal party and the anticipations of justice—all are plunged in utter darkness. Is not the *concordat* a defeat of the Liberal party? Have not the Keswick and Co. got more than they expected? The British offender is to be tried by his peers. Who gains the victory? What the mofussil Magistrates used to do in five minutes will now be done by juries under the *concordat*. The Anglo-Indians attacked the Viceroy, insulted him, abused him, threatened the Government with rebellion, and used the worst language to the natives, and the Queen's Government grants them privileges much beyond their expectations. Is this Mr. Gladstone's checking the ascendancy of the Anglo-Indians in India?

21. The *Bhārat Mitra*, of the 27th December, complains that the

The Education Commission.

Education Commission's recommendation that all business of the court in the North-Western

Provinces should be conducted in the Urdu and Persian character would produce hardship.

22. The same paper complains that the *concordat*, on the pretence of

The Concordat.

giving equal rights to both the European and native civilians, has given more rights to the

European offenders. These Europeans will now beat natives with impunity now that a jury of their own countrymen will try them. If justice is to be done, let native offenders too have the right of being tried by a jury, the majority of whom will be natives. If this is not to be done, let the *concordat* be kept in the exhibition first, and be then relegated to the Asiatic Museum.

HINDU RANJIKĀ.

SAMVAD PRABHAKAR,
Dec. 26th, 1888.

BHĀRAT MITRA,
Dec. 27th, 1888.

BHĀRAT MITRA.

SHAKTI,
Dec. 27th, 1883.

23. The Shakti, of the 27th December, complains of irregularities in conducting the university examinations since the appointment of Mr. Bellett as Registrar. Mr. Bellett is known as a choleric man. In the examination hall he makes such faces that people instead of respecting hate him.

SHAKTI.

24. The same paper says that India is very unfortunate. The conquered race has no rights. The dark nights are scarcely lighted even by the glow-worms. The people of India may be good judges, good men of business, but the black colour nullifies everything. They should consider the will of their rulers as the only source of their right. They should be content with what the ruler condescends to grant to them. They thought that the Ilbert Bill would make the rupture of the spleen scarce, but unfortunately the matter has taken another turn. Things have come to pass which were never dreamt of before. The English have got what they never wanted. They will be tried by juries composed of their countrymen. So there is an end of justice. Formerly justice might have been expected from a few good Judges, but now the indigo and tea planters will be called upon to pronounce guilty or not guilty. The English offenders will simply try themselves.

SHAKTI.

25. The same paper requests the Outstill Commission not to take the evidence of police officers and of the panchayets. They will never disclose the real state of things in the village. The outstill system has increased the influence of the police and of the panchayets. The petty penal offences of which cheap liquor is the cause do not come to the notice of the Government because they have an interest in hushing these up.

SHAKTI.

26. The same paper notices the cruel oppressions committed on the ryots at Atia, in Mymensingh, by the naib of Zemindari oppression at Atia, in Mymensingh. Gunny Meah, the well known zemindar of East Bengal. The information of the Editor is to the effect that there is an association in that village, with Baboo Rajgovinda Sarkar for its president. The naib likes neither the association, nor the president. He has employed *lathials*, and is treating the ryots with cruelty. They have indeed asked the protection of the police, but who does not know that the police is a bond slave to the zemindar?

ARYA DARPAH,
Dec. 26th, 1883.

27. The Aryadarpan, of the 26th December, complains that the ordinary visitors to the International Exhibition do not understand the exhibits in the European courts. The writer recommends that a Committee should be formed, the members of which would undertake to explain the construction of these exhibits gratis.

ARYA DARPAH.

28. The same paper complains of the several failures of justice at the High Court. This, says the writer, has lowered that court in the estimation of the people, who always regarded it as their best safeguard. Mr. Cunningham said that the Dacca student's case on appeal before him was a trumpery affair. But the punishment was rather a heavy one in comparison to the trifling nature of the offence. This shows the legal acumen of the Judge.

VIKRAMPORE PATRIKA,
Dec. 28th, 1883.

29. The Vikrampore Patrika, of the 28th December, learns that the post of Postmaster-General will soon fall vacant, and recommends that Baboo Vishnu Charan Datta should be appointed to fill up the vacancy. The Baboo is an experienced officer, and an educated man. Impartially considered, his claims appear to be very superior. The Government of India by making this appointment should show its love of doing justice to officers of merit. If Eurasians can be appointed to these high posts, why can not natives?

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 28th, 1883.

30. The *Dainik Vártá*, of the 28th December, says that it receives intelligence of scarcity from every quarter.

The impending famine.

But the higher officers have assured the Lieutenant-Governor that there is no apprehension of famine, though the Magistrates of districts, who have a knowledge of the real state of things, have expressed a different opinion.

If there be a famine in Bengal, which God forbid, the responsibility will rest with Mr. Thompson.

31. The same paper says that it is apprehended that the work of Government will soon be transferred into the hands of the planters. Mr. A. Baruá was appointed to

Mr. A. Baruá.
Chittagong. But the local planters did not like it, and they raised a hue and cry. So Mr. Baruá had to be transferred to Jessor and a European has been sent to Chittagong. Such a state of things is quite sure to ruin the country. The welfare of the natives has no place in Mr. Thompson's heart; his love for the planter is indeed great. If Lord Ripon loses his courage at this crisis, to whom are the natives to look for support?

32. The *Samvád Prabhákar*, of the 28th December, says that the people have no hope that the Ilbert Bill question will be settled to their satisfaction in the

SAMVAD PRABHAKAR,
Dec. 28th, 1883.

The Concordat.
Legislative Council. The mediators, Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Evans, are to sit in the Select Committee, and the matter is to be settled in a fortnight. The Secretary of State has given his approval to the modifications. So the writer prays that the matter be postponed till it can be brought before the British Parliament. This is the last request of the 270 millions of the people to Lord Ripon.

33. The *Udbodhan*, of the 28th December, says that it has a mind Justice Cunningham.
to abuse Justice Cunningham, but it cannot do so, for if the Judge is called stupid, hater of natives, a partial Judge, and so on, there is likelihood of the Editor being sent to jail. He is not prepared for that contingency.

UDBODHAN,
Dec. 28th, 1883.

34. The writer of the same paper wants to know whether Justices Pigot and Mitra were really consulted by Justice Cunningham on the Dacca student's case.

The Dacca student's case.
case, as he said they would be. From the tenor of the judgment it would seem that they gave their opinion for upholding the judgment of the Assistant Magistrate.

UDBODHAN.

35. The same paper observes that the Outstill Commission was surprised to hear that girls and innocent females have taken to drinking owing to the cheapness

UDBODHAN.

of the liquor procurable under the outstill system. The evidence of the Hon'ble Hurbans Sahai and Baboos Chundranarain Sinha, Saligram Sinha, and others was against the system, but Baboo Abhayacharan Basu, is arguing in its favor. It is said that he was one of the introducers of the system.

UDBODHAN.

36. The same paper has the following :—" The Lieutenant-Governor Mr. Thompson.
of Bengal is ill. It is said that his health will be worse in case the Ilbert Bill passes.

It is a matter of regret. His brain has been disturbed by serious anxieties, and he is suffering from heavy cold (it is no fault if the editors of vernacular newspapers do not know the science of medicine), and therefore he cannot mix with Lord Ripon in any affair. Would it be necessary for him to go for a change?"

UDBODHAN.

37. The same paper is of opinion that the people will be ruined if the The Concordat.
Ilbert Bill becomes law in the form which has so pleased the Defence Association.

UDBODHAN.

Natives should hold public meetings to deprecate the proposed changes. Their first prayer should be that if the jury system be introduced,

it should be extended to the natives also. Their second prayer should be that the Government should not use any expression which might shew that the procedure regarding the trial of Europeans was not to be changed in future.

PRATIKAR,
Dec. 28th, 1883.

38. The *Pratikár*, of the 28th December, condemns the action of Mr. Justice Cunningham in the Dacca student's case.

The case to be a trumpery affair, but still Mr. Kilby was retained on behalf of the Government. The Judge was unwilling to waste his time in such a trifling matter. But, asks the writer, is he not paid by the Indian people for his work? Is he not bound to work six hours a day for those that pay him so handsomely?

PRATIKAR.

39. The same paper remarks that the Ilbert Bill will do the people but very little good. But its withdrawal will be ruinous. Whatever the low-minded Euro-

peans may say, the English will never be able to govern India with brute force only. The belief that English rule is beneficial is at the root of its stability. The battle of Plassy would have been impossible without such belief. The people at the time had confidence in the honesty, integrity, and justice of Englishmen. Otherwise the English could never have gained so much ascendancy in this country. They were so few in number, and in such a wretched condition, that they could easily have been driven away if the people had not so firm a faith in their honesty.

PRATIKAR.

40. The same paper remarks that the *concordat* will place the European offender beyond the reach of justice. The present state of the law is much

better than what the new change will bring about. The arrangement may be accepted if in every case natives also are given the right of trial by jury.

SAMACHAR
CHANDRIKA,
Dec. 29th, 1883.

41. The *Samáchár Chandriká*, of the 29th December, says that Lord Ripon is desirous of doing good to India. But he has constructed a monkey in his desire

to make an image of the god Shiva. The writer knew long ago that Lord Ripon would be worsted in his struggle with his numerous antagonists, and that the Ilbert Bill would come to a sad termination.

UCHIT BAKTA,
Dec. 29th, 1883.

42. The *Uchitvaktá*, of the 29th December, says that the *concordat* shows the weakness of the Government of India. In fact, whenever the Government will propose any measure for the good of the natives, Europeans will oppose it in the same way as they have done the Ilbert Bill. The writer asks Lord Ripon to remain firm, otherwise people will laugh at his expense.

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 29th, 1883.

43. The *Dainik Vártá*, of the 29th December, says that the Government raises a revenue of 72 crores. Of course the largest portion of this comes from

the natives. The natives pay the whole amount of the salaries of the Government. But the Government does not look to the welfare of the natives. The British zemindar looks more to the interests of a few paikast ryots, a few foreign subjects. The British Government speaks of justice and fairness. So the writer feels constrained to say these things. He would not say a word if the Government declared that oppression and the supporting of friends were the objects which kings ought to keep in view. But the Government cannot make such a declaration, for whatever men may say the Government cannot despise the 250 millions of natives. Fairness and interest both point out to the Government that it should treat the natives well. But nobody heeds the lesson. Viceroys like Lord Ripon, though willing, are not able to pay any heed to it. This is a lamentable state of things. Who can say this will not in time produce baneful results?

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 29th, 1883.

44. The same paper exhorts the Provincial Governors not to remain indifferent at this crisis. The jury proposal came from Bombay, but Sir Alfred The jury compromise.

Lyall was opposed to it. He should not disappoint the people by remaining silent. Mr. Thompson should not so far forget his duties at the instigation of the planters. The packed jury will never be able to mete out impartial justice. The example of Cossaitola juries should not be forgotten. Sir Ashley Eden would never have agreed to such a proposal.

45. The *Hálishahar Prakáshiká*, of the 29th December, is surprised and disappointed at the *concordat* regarding The Concordat.

the Ilbert Bill. Government introduced the Bill of its own motion. The people did not ask for it. In spite of all the agitation Lord Ripon has acknowledged the necessity of the Bill. The reason of this sudden change of his resolution and this display of weakness therefore seems to be mysterious. Though the natives can enter into the intricacies of the policy of the English, they are almost bewildered in the present instance. Even a child of five years knows that if the Bill passes in the form proposed by the *concordat*, the country will be ruined. The Government is giving of its own accord what the opponents of the Bill never wanted. The Ilbert Bill was designed for the prevention of cases of ruptured spleens, but in its proposed form these cases will be more frequent.

The natives expected that Lord Ripon would not be moved by the conspiracies of the opposition. He was their only support; but the Anglo-Indians have deprived them of that support. Natives should not therefore remain idle. Lord Ripon's feelings are well known. They should continue to agitate the question, and to make their own feelings known to him.

46. The *Sulabha Samáchár*, of the 29th December, complains that the *concordat* will really transfer the power of The Concordat.

SULABHA SAMACHAR,
Dec. 29th, 1883.

trying European offenders from the Judges and Magistrates to the friends and relations of the offenders themselves. It appears that the planters are the real rulers of the land. Even the Governor-General is afraid of giving them offence. The writer is very sorry that Lord Ripon has made a treaty with the Defence Association, and that the so-much-talked-of Ilbert Bill should come to this after so much heart burning, so much agitation, and so much race antagonism, and after raising the expectation of the natives to such a pitch by a talk of liberal and righteous principles.

47. The *Samvád Prabhákar*, of the 29th December, remarks that the High Court is gradually losing the confidence The Dacca student's case.

SAMVAD PRABHAKAR,
Dec. 29th, 1883.

of the people. The strange conduct of Mr. Justice Norris in certain cases, the Ilbert Bill Minute of the Judges, and the interference of the Chief Justice in the affair of Mr. Branson with the attorneys, have sullied the reputation of the High Court. The Dacca student's case has made the matter worse. Mr. Cunningham pronounced the case a trumpery affair, without even reading the petition of the appellant and hearing the argument of counsel. Was not the Judge bound to hear the counsel? He calls the case a trifling affair, but the Judge should look into every case that comes before him. Why should he consider a case trifling? No case is trifling when it comes before a Judge. Is the case to be thrown away because the appellant is a school-boy?

48. The *Dacca Prakásh*, of the 30th December, says that the *concordat* has not only filled the people with amaze-

DACCA PRAKASH,
Dec. 30th, 1883.

The Ilbert Bill—the *Concordat*. ment, but they are also greatly disappointed and frightened at the defeat of the Government of Lord Ripon. The Government has shown great weakness in coming to terms with those that have

abused the natives, threatened the Government, and come forward to preach open sedition. The fact is these Anglo-Indians are the real rulers of the land, and no Governor-General, however righteous and impartial, can cope with them. No one can prevent their doing just as they please. This shows how dark the prospect of the natives is in the future. The people have shown exemplary loyalty, but the Government has forgotten them and favoured those that were on the point of rebellion. This is teaching the people a bad lesson, that the Government is cowed by frowns and not moved by entreaties. The people will not indeed burn the Viceroy in effigy, but they will feel this neglect very deeply, and this feeling will not be easily removed. Cannot the Government realise the condition to which the country will be reduced under the oppression of Europeans if they are tried by their own countrymen? Does it not see the iniquity of granting juries to Europeans and withholding them from natives?

The writer appeals to his countrymen not to remain silent under such circumstances. He requests them to commence an agitation both in England and in India to set aside the proposed arrangements.

49. The *Sanjivani*, of the 29th December, says that the conduct of Government strikes men dumb. There are no words in the language that can adequately

A disgraceful treaty.
describe this shameful *concordat*. Who ever thought even in a dream that the Government coming to rule India, fattening upon her money, accepting the good of the people of India as the burden of the song, should thus cut the throat of the people? Has it not entered the head of the Government that, with the object of removing one race distinction, it is going to set up another? The people of India are not fools. Their civilization dates from a period when the ancestors of the English people used to live in the forest in a state of complete nudity. They are not fools. Their ancestors ruled kingdoms and solved the intricate problems of the science of politics. They may fall low at the feet of the English, but they have not forgotten the glories of their ancestors. They can very well understand the cleverness of English policy looking through its intricacies behind the screen. But they have neither power nor resources, therefore the English play with their fortunes. No doubt race distinction amongst Judges is removed from the Statute book. But there is no way of throwing dust into the eyes of the people. The native Judges and Magistrates are given the same powers as the European Judges and Magistrates. But the native Joint-Magistrates and native Assistant Magistrates will remain as inferior to the European Joint-Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates as before. How beautifully is the race distinction removed! The hypocrisy of the English is disgraceful. By hook or by crook the native has been debarred from entering the Civil Service. The chances of the few old native civilians of becoming Judges and Magistrates are very few indeed. In order to give these two or three men equal powers with the Europeans, 250 millions of natives, who are already low in the impartial eye of the English law, are degraded lower still. If they only had been lowered, they would never have complained. But the country will suffer from the oppressive conduct of the English. It would be difficult for the natives to protect their lives from the oppressive conduct of the English. India is the play-ground of the English. They satisfy all their whims here. The rights which they do not enjoy in England are given to them in India.

At the present moment there exists a rancorous feeling between the Europeans and natives. The Government, after creating this feeling, after throwing the natives into the mouth of the tiger, has washed its hands clean of the affair. The rulers, fattening upon the people's money, have ruined the people. It did not enter the head of the Government that the

SANJIVANI,
Dec. 29th, 1882.

offences which Joint-Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates can try in their own right, would not be triable by Judges and Magistrates without the assistance of a jury. Did it not occur to them that the trial of Europeans would be impossible in many districts where there are not Europeans enough to form a jury? The perusal of the *concordat* covers the people with shame, with contempt, and with sorrow. The writer never thought that he would be obliged to use harsh language against the Government of Lord Ripon, but he cannot ruin his country for the sake of Lord Ripon. The Europeans insulted Lord Ripon openly, tried to raise the standard of rebellion, and treated the Government with contempt, and the Government came to terms with them and smoothed the way of their oppressing the people of India. The Government, which is so cowardly, can no longer be an object of regard. The people were not satisfied with the Bill as modified, but they did not speak out for the sake of Lord Ripon. But they can not hold their silence any more.

The writer then appeals to his countrymen to declare in one voice that they do not want the Ilbert Bill in its present form. They should form associations in every village, and say that they can give their consent to the Bill only if the natives are granted the right of demanding trial by a jury, the majority of which will be natives.

50. The same paper opens an article headed, "See what has come to pass" in the following words :—

The Concordat.

"Awake O! people of India, who have

the same causes of grief if you want to live. Rise, if you have a mind to protect yourselves from oppression. Gird up your loins to remedy the injustice—the injustice which is terrible. From one end to the other cry—'oppression! oppression!' in one voice. Rend the Indian sky with your cry. Zemindar and tenant, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, forget your mutual dissensions in the present crisis. Take a vow that you will not stop crying and rending the sky till the cause of this oppression is removed. Let the civilized world hear that the subjects of the Queen-Empress unable to bear oppression are making heart-rending outcries. Let the leaders of the Liberal party see what fearful acts of oppression are being committed by a few thousands of selfish, unrighteous, reckless, cruel, and haughty Europeans. The ministers of Lord Ripon have done a great mischief on the pretence of doing good. They have shown the extreme illiberality by pretending to be liberal; they have done an act of dire enmity in the name of friendship. Let them understand that the people of India have succeeded in unravelling the intricacy of their policy."

SANJIVANI,
Dec. 29th, 1883.

51. We extract the following observations from an article in the *Navavibhákar*, of the 31st December, headed

The Ilbert Bill—the Concordat.

"Fear, mortification, and despondency on

all sides :—"The people have become stupefied and overpowered with fear, mortification, and disappointment at hearing of the secret convention notified on the 22nd December. Everywhere in Bengal, in the North-West, in Bombay, in Madras, and the other provinces, the people have been rendered speechless and lifeless. Breathes there a wretch who finds a pleasure in witnessing the humiliation of Government and the triumph and exultation of its opponents! Everybody has been heard muttering the words "O Ripon! O Providence!" Even now there are found persons who in their scepticism refuse to believe that Lord Ripon's Government has, without giving the least intimation to the people of this country, all of a sudden entered into such an odious compact with its opponents. The whole population is anxiously waiting for the 4th of January, on which date,

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the next meeting of the Legislative Council is to be held. Not a single native of India approves of this secret convention. With the exception of the *Englishman* and the *Indian Daily News*, all other journals in this province are in one voice condemning this surrender on the part of Government. The two dailies, the *Mirror* and the *Statesman*, and the *Amrita Bazar*, the *Patriot*, the *Bengali*, the *Bengal Public Opinion*, the *East*, the *Behar Herald*, the *Nation*, the *Echo* and the other weeklies have, in one voice, and with regret, protested against the *concordat*. The vernacular newspapers, one and all, have deplored the lack of firmness on the part of Lord Ripon. Outside of Bengal the case is the same with other newspapers, vernacular and English alike. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Times of India*, the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Indian Spectator* and the *Pioneer* have disapproved of the settlement. The Editor agrees with the *Statesman* in asking that the proposal regarding the trial of Europeans by a jury, the majority of which shall be Europeans, should be referred to local officials for their opinions before it is submitted for the consideration of the Select Committee.

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The Ilbert Bill—the position of
Government.

52. The following is a translation of an article in the same paper headed the "Folly of Europeans and Government placed in a dilemma." It is no small fault of judgment on the part of Europeans

that falling under the temptation of preserving their smaller interests they should abandon their more important and valuable interests. Having been so long practically beyond the reach of the law, they have led the people of India to believe that Europeans may commit as much oppression as they please without the risk of being criminally prosecuted for their misdeeds. The impression existing in the native mind that neither the law nor the law courts can touch Europeans has emasculated natives in a greater degree than have the rigors of the Criminal Procedure Code. Invidious legislation and the invidious distinctions made by the preservers of the peace and judicial officers have had the effect of completely destroying the manliness and natural energy of the people of India. It is because natives know but too well that complaints lodged in the police against a European wrong-doer are not listened to by any Inspector, Sub-inspector, or Jemadar, and that complaints made to Magistrates often lead to the acquittal of the accused European on the alleged ground of want of evidence, that the native complainant remains silent under oppression, floats straight obedient to the stream of oppression, and does not even venture to go against that stream. Under these circumstances, if District Magistrates and Sessions Judges alone, no matter whether European or native, had been vested with criminal jurisdiction over Europeans, practically the latter would have found no diminution of their advantages; these remaining much the same as before, people would not have ventured to institute criminal prosecutions against them, native Magistrates would have been rarely called upon to try them, and even if called upon to do so they would through fear have inflicted light punishments. A little careful consideration would have shown Europeans that the Ilbert Bill in its original form would not have much affected them. Why then have they for the sake of this small interest sacrificed one more important?

The English nation is greatly interested in maintaining intact the power of the English Government. It is the strength of the Government that imparts strength to Englishmen; it is the strength of the Indian Government which makes Anglo-Indians strong. By making a powerful agitation, Englishmen have weakened the hands of Government. They have, in various ways, insulted the Indian representative of the English Government, have applied to him the epithets of *budmash*, cheat, and

inefficient, and have slandered him in the Town Hall on the occasion of their national festival. When, on the occasion of Lord Ripon's return to the Metropolis, the whole population of the city became mad with joy and received him with shouts of "Victory to Lord Ripon," the Europeans showed a hostile spirit, and by means of their discordant hisses extremely slighted him. The leaders of the European agitators absented themselves from the levee and thus insulted the Viceroy. The volunteers resolved that they would lay down their arms, the tea and the indigo planters swore that they would prevent an enforcement of the Act, even if the Ilbert Bill became law. Hints were even dropped that native Magistrates would have to fly from the tea and indigo districts for their lives. Since after putting up with so much insult, defiance and frowning, Government has humbled itself before those who had defied and frowned upon it, and has offered them advantages which they had never expected to receive, where is the self-respect of Government? Has not that spirit of ascendancy marking Anglo-Indians, to which Mr. Gladstone referred with horror, been thus aggravated? Where, indeed, is the firmness of a Government which at the least breath of agitation swerves from the path of duty? If Government crouches through fear on account of unreasonable clamour, if like a child lying in its mother's arms cries even if reproved in jest, Government cries at the idle threats of a handful of Europeans, what subject then will live in fear of Government?

The Anglo-Indians have not acted wisely by exposing this weakness of the Government. India is not England. No evil has in England resulted from the curtailment of the powers of the highest ruler, but considerable evil is likely to result to Englishmen from the curtailment of the powers of the highest ruler in India. Before taking any action in the matter it behoved Europeans to remember that the power of the people increases in proportion as the power of Government decreases. By weakening the Government and humiliating it in the sight of the two hundred and fifty millions of people in this country, the Europeans have in a manner attempted to loosen the foundations of English rule in India. On account of this weakening of the Indian Government, the two to two hundred and fifty millions of natives have, together with the twenty to twenty-five thousand Europeans, received an accession of strength. We have no reason like Anglo-Indians to regret this unasked—for increase of our power, inasmuch as in India Europeans derive their strength from the Government. Having now laid the axe at their feet, they may go on committing oppression upon natives with an easy conscience.

We are exceedingly sorry to think of the plight to which Lord Ripon has been reduced. He has been placed in a dilemma ever since he initiated the Ilbert Bill, but that spirit of destruction, Sir A. Colvin, has increased his difficulty. No sooner has Sir Auckland succeeded Major Baring than he has given clear proof of his sympathetic (?) nature. It is he, who has by acting as mediator between the Governor-General's Council and the European Defence Association, caused the humiliation of the Government of India. The very thought that falling into the hands of counsellors lacking foresight, Lord Ripon should at length have gladdened the hearts of his enemies, is painful. By introducing the Ilbert Bill he had won the hearts of natives and forfeited the good-will of Europeans; but by bringing his head low and entering into a treaty with the enemy he has won the hearts of Europeans, but is about to forfeit the good-will of natives. Imposed upon by the wiles of his counsellors, or overawed by numbers, he is about to forsake the two hundred millions of natives for the purpose of pleasing twenty thousand Europeans. If he really forsakes them, there can be no greater

misfortune to them. If such a sincere friend really becomes unkind to us, then we shall understand that Providence will never cease to be unfavourable to us. Lord Ripon has undertaken to govern India with a heart pervaded by a sense of justice, and holding the balance of justice evenly in his hands. Let him calmly consider whether it is reasonable on his part to make, as he is about to make, a convention in such humiliating terms with the European Defence Association, and thus to transfer the government of India into the hands of a handful of despotic Englishmen. We are subjects of the Empress Victoria and of her Viceroy Lord Ripon, who both love us. Is it worthy of Her Majesty's love for her Indian subjects to make a few unscrupulous Englishmen, who are slaves of self-interest, our absolute masters? Or is such action worthy of Lord Ripon's disinterested love for this country? That a few European merchants and barristers sitting near the Great Eastern Hotel should be able to direct the destinies of India in whatever direction they please is a contingency which we shall never be able to endure. A little reflection will show Lord Ripon that owing to his lack of firmness or keen insight, the European Defence Association has become a rival to the Governor-General's Council. This evil ought to be remedied at once. Owing to the indiscretion or dishonesty of his counsellors, His Excellency has been placed in a dilemma, and has had his difficulties increased. If Europeans are henceforth tried even in the courts of District Magistrates by a jury consisting mostly of Europeans, the administration of justice will be increasingly hampered; instead of different Judges possessing different degrees of powers on the ground of race, there will be different sorts of trial for different defendants on the ground of race. Puffed up with race pride Europeans will in the mofussil indulge in greater brag and bluster, and, except in the metropolis, anarchy will reign supreme everywhere else in the country. Lord Ripon must have doubtless by this time perceived the evils of the proposed settlement. He has doubtless perceived by this time that if the proposed settlement is confirmed, native sheep will fall into the jaws of the monsters of the monster association. Thought of these dreadful evils will doubtless move Lord Ripon's honest heart. Indeed, it will move him more powerfully than the threatened European revolt. The only way now out of the difficulty will be found in firmness. India will be simply ruined if firmness and fearless justice is not shown at this time.

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Dec. 31st, 1883.

53. The same paper observes that the people are anxious to hear from Lord Ripon on the 4th of January the reasons which have led him to enter into an inequitable and impolitic convention with the opponents of the Ilbert Bill.

The Ilbert Bill—the jury system. Many believe that His Excellency has been induced through the machinations of his counsellors to agree to the convention. The native public is not prepared readily to believe that the ruler whom the people of this country have worshipped like God for his fearless love of justice has changed his views and deserted their cause. They will be happy if their estimate of Lord Ripon proves true; otherwise a feeling of utter despondency will seize them. Whatever may have been the cause which has led Lord Ripon to agree to the *concordat*, His Excellency is now doubtless sorry to think of the consequences of his actions. But it is no longer open to Government to remedy the injurious results arising from the *concordat*. What is open to it is to seek to remove the stain of undue partiality which is noticeable in that agreement. Certainly it cannot be the object of Government to aggravate the race distinctions, to lessen which the Ilbert Bill was introduced. And yet this is precisely what has been done in the *concordat*. Under the existing Code of Criminal Procedure the European accused enjoy many advantages which are denied to native defendants in a criminal case; but

the former did not so long possess the privilege which is now proposed to be conferred upon them. If it is really granted them, the difference as regards the trial between Europeans and natives will be increased. It is believed that the new privilege will be conferred upon natives also, thus establishing equality. The English community cannot possibly object to this. Whatever may be their true feelings on the subject, Europeans have always said, since the introduction of the Ilbert Bill, that they would have no objection to any proposal to confer new rights upon natives if such action did not encroach upon their own long-enjoyed privileges. By now conferring this privilege upon natives, the defect of onesidedness, under which the *concordat* labours, will be removed, and the ends of justice promoted. Of course, the civilians will raise objections to any such proposal, and will most likely point out that if it is accepted the number of sessions cases will increase considerably, thus necessitating an addition to the number of Sessions Judges. To this it may be replied that, owing to great delay and expense which must be incurred by parties to a suit in a sessions court, the prayer for a trial by jury would probably be made in only a few cases in which a question of race arose.

54. The same paper contains a short poem headed the "Fulfilment of the vow," in which the writer extols the

A poem.

prowess, the courage, the unity, and determin-

ed character of the English nation which now carries on its shoulders the banner of victory which once was raised by the Romans. The English nation has taught valuable political lessons to the subject population of India. The struggles made by that nation for political liberty in England, the English constitution, the power of the English Sovereign, the recent humiliation of the Viceroy are all facts which will be duly appreciated by the Indian people. The following is a translation of certain stanzas from the poem under notice :—

" You have by granting gifted eyes to the people of India taught them what vow it is by the fulfilment of which a subject race and a subject people can gratify their aspirations.

" Hear O ! Ripon, the lord of India—do not any longer keep up this farce ; bitter is the fruit and great is the danger of playing with the hearts of men.

" Even the weakest and the blackest race, if it is kept long in a state of flutter with hope, and has not its hopes realized, is seized with despair which outsteps all limits.

" On pretence of giving nectar you have given poison ; have made friendship with your party ; and increased their strength as the strength was increased of the Praetorian guard in Rome."

55. The *Ananda Bazar Patriká*, of the 31st December, remarks

Lord Ripon and the people of India.

that the people of India have unbounded confidence in Lord Ripon, who came to this country to deliver them from oppression and

make them happy, contented, and loyal. But they are now surprised to find that he has conferred upon Anglo-Indians the benefit of trial by a jury, consisting mostly of Europeans. The Ilbert Bill will be discussed at the meeting of the Indian Legislative Council fixed for the 4th of January. Possibly Lord Ripon will then seek to re-assure the people of India. But on that occasion His Excellency should state whether the latest modifications in the Ilbert Bill are in true keeping with the sentiments of the Queen's Proclamation, to which he expressed his stedfast devotion. Lord Ripon is placed in a dilemma. He has become unpopular with his friends, relatives, and countrymen, and has had perhaps a difference of

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opinion with those under whom he works, in connection with the Ilbert Bill. But His Excellency ought to have consulted natives on this matter, and it would not have mattered much had he withdrawn the Bill after consulting them. As it is, the manner in which he has acted in reference to this measure shows that the people of India are not to obtain those rights which were promised them in the Queen's Proclamation until Anglo-Indians consent to their receiving them. In other words, a zemindar, though he may have attained his majority, is not to succeed to his paternal estates until the European planter who resides in his estates consents to the measure.

ANANDA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
Dec. 31st, 1883.

56. The same paper remarks that nobody can deny that the manner in which Europeans are going to have the benefit of trial by jury given to them in the mofussil will make them practically exempt from punishment, and secure them a new right in criminal trials. Why should Europeans be given the benefit of trial by jury in non-jury districts, while natives are denied it? Why does Lord Ripon make natives dependent for this favour upon the local Governments? Trial by jury is as much a native institution as it is an English one. Natives had all along had their punchayets, that is, a native was tried by his peers. Why should again be Europeans given the right of being tried by a jury before a Magistrate? They do not enjoy this privilege even in England. If it is conferred upon them, they will be perfectly free from all fear of punishment at the hands of Magistrates who, as Justices of the Peace, have occasionally punished Europeans. The people do not attach much weight to the consideration that neither the Magistrate nor the Judge will be bound by the verdict of the jury, but will be able, in case of disagreement, to refer the matter to the High Court. They know very well what the outcome of such references generally is. Lord Ripon will not be able to remove by any amount of reasoning the conviction which exists in the native mind that under the jury system the European offenders will escape punishment. This conviction is not based upon conjecture, but has been formed after witnessing repeated instances of failure of justice caused under the jury system.

ANANDA BAZAR
PATRIKA.

57. The same paper observes that Government cannot now consistently deny natives the right of trial by jury before Magistrates, which it has granted to

Trial by jury.
Europeans. Neither Government nor non-official Europeans can have any reasonable objection to this. In conferring this new right upon Europeans, Government, curiously enough, overlooked two considerations, namely (1) that if Europeans were tried by European jury, the great majority of the offenders would escape punishment—witness the trials of Europeans in the High Courts even under the most favourable circumstances; (2) that there are in most places in the mofussil but few Europeans, and even these are officials. The last census report gives the number of Europeans in Bankoora as 5, that in Beerbboom as 2, that in Khoolna as 7, that in Bogra as 2, that in Backergunge as 4, that in Noakholly as 4, that in Tipperah as 2, that in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as 1, that in Maldah as 2, that in Pooree as 4, that in Jessore as 9, that in Dinagepore as 5, that in Mymensingh as 9, that in Gya as 8; while in Banki and Singbboom there are no British-born subjects. These numbers of course include the European officials in the several districts named, and if they are excluded it will be difficult to empanel a European jury in those districts. Now the two objections indicated above will not apply in the case of a native jury. An independent native jury will always be forthcoming everywhere. If natives are given the new right, appeals to the High Court from the decisions of Sessions Judges in cases in which they are assisted by assessors will be less

than at present, and this will be a great advantage inasmuch as the High Court is overworked and needs relief.

58. The same paper observes that Europeans will be greater gainers than natives by witnessing the International Exhibition.

The International Exhibition. able on their return to their native country to make imitations of Indian manufactures and send them for sale to India, while the latter will stupidly gaze at the different European machinery exhibited without feeling the least interest therein or seeking to profit thereby. The result will be that the few Indian arts and manufactures which have hitherto remained safe from foreign imitation will now be imitated, and thus will gradually cease to be remunerative occupations to those natives who are engaged in them. The exhibition will not in the least benefit this country, but, on the contrary, extremely injure it.

59. The same paper observes that by giving the right of trial by jury to Europeans in this country, Government has placed the 250 millions of natives

Trial by jury. under their feet. The administration of justice in criminal trials has now been brought to such a pass that loyalty will gradually disappear from the hearts of the people, and British administration will be brought into contempt.

60. The same paper remarks that if the authorities hesitate to confer upon natives the privilege of trial by jury,

Trial by jury. they may at least rule that in all warrant cases before the Magistrate the defendant will have at his pleasure the right of praying for the benefit of trial by jury before the Sessions Judge, and that as regards the trial of petty cases the bench system will be extended.

61. The *Som Prakash*, of the 31st December, makes the following observations in an article on the *concordat* :—

The Ilbert Bill—the *Concordat*. The proposal to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure had its birth in an auspicious moment. It has shown many things unprecedented. It has clearly revealed the disposition of Englishmen. How far just and polite the English are no longer remains a secret. How they fulfil their pledges has also been made manifest. How anxious the rulers are to maintain the dignity of, and to properly administer, justice in India has also been made clear. We have not been able to know and understand the greatness of the Christian religion. What Christianity and Christians are still remain unintelligible to us. We are now convinced that there is nothing which cannot be accomplished under the cloak of Christianity. For seeking to walk in the path of righteousness Lord Ripon was ridiculed and hissed at his reception and at the theatre. What politeness on the part of the English! What justice on the part of the English! What is most commendable in Anglo-Indians is that no high class or respectable European official or non-official has uttered a syllable regarding this conduct of Europeans. Praise to English unity in a bad cause! We did not know before that there was to be found so much unity among them in a bad cause. The Ilbert Bill has revealed this fact. The English seek to redress wrong, counsel a righteous course, and seek to make it appear from their professions and acts that they do not in the least outstep the limits of righteousness. All this led us to believe that they sincerely love justice, but now we find that their actions are pretended and are dictated by ulterior motives. The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal shows partiality for Englishmen. He is held in the highest respect in the English community. Praise be to English partiality!

We did not last time believe that in the matter of the Ilbert Bill the Government of India had made any settlement with the European Defence

ANANDA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
Dec. 31st, 1883.

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PATRIKA.

ANANDA BAZAR
PATRIKA.

SOM PRAKASH,
Dec. 31st, 1883.

Association. We had regarded the news as a *canard*. Even now we cannot believe that such a settlement will be really made. We do not believe this, because we never thought that the Government of India would be so weak as to be terrified by idle clamour, that the Queen's Proclamation would be held to be as trivial a thing as the words of a child, that unable to redeem its promises the English nation would show cowardice, or that it would show that it had no desire of governing India on just principles. The Ilbert Bill has to Englishmen become a giver of gifts more liberal than even the Kalpa Taru of the Hindu mythology. The Kalpa Taru gives only what is asked of it, but the Ilbert Bill has given what it was never asked to give. The mere provision that Europeans will have the right of trial by a jury, the majority of whom shall be Europeans, is enough to show how the ends of justice will be promoted by it. The Ilbert Bill agitation has in a manner shown that European jurors will be unduly partial to Europeans. If it were not the desire of Europeans that they should be able to beat and kill natives at their pleasure like so many dogs and jackals, without the risk of being justly tried for their crimes, the Ilbert Bill would have never given birth to so much agitation. The plea of the rupture of the spleen will now receive an accession of strength in a European jury, and justice will fly from this land. The Editor asks that Government should take the opinions of the Secretary of State and his Council on the subject of the *concordat*, and remarks that there was no necessity on the part of Government of entering into the *concordat*. The modifications which had been made in the Bill were such as were not likely to displease Europeans.

SOM PRAKASH,
Dec. 31st, 1883.

62. The same paper remarks that if the English have always desired to rule India at the point of the sword and in an arbitrary manner, they should have worked to that end from the beginning. But they have committed several blunders, namely, (1) they have given English education to natives; (2) they have allowed Christian Missionaries to come to this country; (3) they have made the newspaper press free; (4) they have granted natives admission into the Covenanted Civil Service; and (5) they have issued a proclamation in the Queen's name which contains many pledges to the people of India.

SOM PRAKASH.

63. The same paper says that the Leper Asylum in Calcutta should be removed to Darjeeling, or some other place, where the climate is cold, inasmuch as the graver symptoms in leprosy are removed by residence in a cold climate. The patients, it is also suggested, should be kept apart from each other, each being allotted one entire room.

SURABHI,
Dec. 31st, 1883.

64. The *Surabhi*, of the 31st December, cannot agree with those who hold that, though the settlement which Lord Ripon has made in the matter of the Ilbert Bill with the European Defence Association is one which cannot be approved of, still His Excellency ought to be supported at this time. Lord Ripon should not be separated from his public acts, and should only be judged by those acts.

SURABHI.

65. The same paper remarks that Lord Ripon has lost his natural firmness and fearlessness at the present time. The Editor asks that instead of mutilating the Bill it will be better to withdraw it.

SURABHI.

66. The same paper condemns the action of Government in making a settlement with the European Defence Association, which represents only a few half-educated and low-minded Englishmen in Bengal.

67. The *Dainik Vártá*, of the 31st December, says that all the municipalities in Bengal, except those of Calcutta, the Suburbs, and Howrah, have been

DAINIK VARTA,
Dec. 31st, 1883.

The Calcutta Police.
relieved of the police charges. The Suburban Municipality will soon be relieved, but Calcutta and Howrah are not so fortunate. The writer is therefore glad to hear that a movement has been set on foot in the Municipal Committee by Baboo Surendra Nath Banerji to petition Government to relieve Calcutta of these charges.

68. The *Sár Sudhánidhi*, of the 31st December, points out the following three defects of the jury compromise :—

SAR SUDHANIDHI,
Dec. 31st, 1883.

The *Concordat*.

1st—The trial will be complicated instead of being made easy.

2nd—The European Magistrates who now enjoy the right of trying Europeans will lose that right.

3rd—Justice will not exist even in name. The Magistrate has to fear the appellate court and the newspapers, and he is moreover amenable to public opinion. But the juries will have no such thing to fear, because they will be chosen from those who have raised this strong outcry against the Ilbert Bill. The writer prays that if Lord Ripon finds it difficult to pass the Bill here, it should be referred to the British Parliament.

69. The *Burdwan Sanjivani*, of the 1st January, is greatly disappointed with the *concordat*. The Editor is of

BURDWAN SANJIVANI.
Jan. 1st, 1884.

The Ilbert Bill—the *Concordat*.

opinion that it would have been better not to have introduced the Bill at all, or to have withdrawn it instead of giving it such a shape as is now proposed. The trial of Europeans by European juries is the same thing as no trial. The number of Europeans in the mofussil is very limited, and the few that are to be found are bound together by ties of friendship. So the result of the trial by juries may well be inferred.

The threats of ten thousand Europeans have induced the Government to do this piece of injustice, but if 250 millions of natives strengthen the hands of the Government by supporting it, it will never bind itself in such a disgraceful *concordat* with the opponents of the Ilbert Bill.

70. The same paper says that if the natives of India want to rise in

BURDWAN SANJIVANI.

The duties of the natives.

the scale of nations, they should remember the past glories of their ancestors. The remembrance will fill them with shame, remorse, and sorrow, and the desire of becoming like their ancestors will become strong.

71. The same paper requests the Commissioners of the Burdwan

BURDWAN SANJIVANI.

The Burdwan Municipality.

Municipality to make a written rule that the water of the Bánká be drained off from time

to time, for otherwise the water becomes extremely unhealthy, and last year it produced an outbreak of cholera. For want of such a written rule, Mr. Larminie kept the anicut closed for purposes of his own, regardless of the difficulties of the people. A written rule is not so easy to violate.

72. The *Samvád Púrnachandrodaya*, of the 3rd January, is surprised to find that the Viceroy should have so

SAMVAD PURNA-
CHANDRODAYA,
Jan. 3rd, 1884.

The *Concordat*. suddenly changed his mind regarding the Ilbert Bill. This circumstance has pierced the hearts of the people like an arrow. The British Government is reputed to be liberal, but it is not so in India, and the people are unhappy. If it does not remove the sorrow of the thousands for the sake of the ten, its good name will suffer. It is the maker of laws. It can legislate anything. Then why does it alter the resolution once given out?

SAMVAD BAHIKA,
Dec. 18th, 1883.

73. The *Samvad Bāhikā*, of the 13th December, in alluding to the reception of Mr. Larminie, the new Commissioner at Jagutpur, by Kally Pada Bandapadhyā and others, remarks that the reception was the first of its kind in Orissa.

SAMVAD BAHIKA.

74. The same paper, in alluding to the appointment of Kumar Baikunthanath De as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, highly praises this action on the part of Government, and states that the Kumar well deserves the honour. The Editor further observes that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in appointing the Kumar to the Legislative Council has taken the interests of Orissa into his consideration.

SAMVAD BAHIKA.

75. The same paper, in another paragraph reflecting on the condition of educated Hindus, regrets to find that they are arrogant and immoral, and in contrasting them with their forefathers remarks that the latter were far superior both as men and members of society. The Editor then goes on to attack the character of English education, which, in its opinion, is the father of all these evils.

SAMVAD BAHIKA.

The Calcutta International Exhibition.

76. The same paper, in a long article, describes the opening ceremony of the Calcutta International Exhibition, and in the end remarks that the arrangements in connection therewith were not perfect, and that the Maharajah of Jeypur is said to have been put to great inconvenience in not being able to find out his carriage in time.

SAMVAD BAHIKA.

Farewell dinner to Mr. Smith.

77. The same paper, in alluding to the reception of Mr. Smith at Cuttack before his departure for Calcutta, remarks that Mr. Smith, notwithstanding his incumbency for a long period in Orissa, did not perform any such distinguished service as to merit such a grand reception. Thus Rs. 1,500, the cost of the dinner, was, in its opinion, so much waste of money.

SAMVAD BAHIKA.

Prices of rice, &c.

78. We extract the following from the news and correspondence columns of the same paper:—(1) It is gratifying to find that rice sells at a cheaper rate in Balasore; (2) a large number of Government officers left Balasore for the Calcutta International Exhibition on last Wednesday; (3) it is gratifying to notice that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is willing to study the languages and wants of this country, but His Royal Highness must not see through other men's eyes, and should exercise his own judgment and power of observation; and (4) there were showers of rain in Balasore, but they were simply injurious to the ripe corn.

UTKAL DIPAKA,
Dec. 16th, 1883.

79. The *Utkal Dipikā*, of the 15th December, gives a short account of the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Calcutta. Duke of Connaught at Calcutta, and approves of the same by giving vent to its loyal feelings.

UTKAL DIPAKA.

Troops on march.

80. The same paper, in alluding to the statements made by its Banki correspondent, makes the following remarks:—“ Surely the transfer of a regiment from one place to another is a danger to the people, for the villages adjoining the road through which the regiment pass suffer a great deal. The people adjoining the stations where a regiment halts are bound to provide eatables. It is true that the Sepoys must purchase things, but practically it so happens that the common people are forced to provide things against their will, as will be evident from the letter of our correspondent published elsewhere, to which the writer would draw the attention of the authorities. The place

"from which the report of oppression comes is, as it were, the zemindari of Government. Should such things happen in Government khas mehals how much more oppressive must it be in other zemindaries. It may be that Government are more incompetent to manage their affairs than other zemindars."

81. The same paper also approves of the action of Government in appointing Kumar Baikunthanath De as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council,

Kumar Baikunthanath De. and remarks that Government have done justice to Orissa, which was up to date unrepresented in the Council. The Editor is grateful to Government for this their judicious action, and expresses a hope that the Kumar will be found equal to his duties, for which his experience as an Honorary Magistrate and a Vice-Chairman of Road Cess and Municipal Committees has prepared him. The paper refers to the Kumar as a model for imitation by other scions of noble families whom it advises to be more active and philanthropic in the discharge of their several duties.

UTKAL DIPAKA,
Dec. 15th, 1883.

82. In an article on "Orissa honoured in Calcutta" the Editor of the same paper remarks that the Rajahs of Orissa, who had been invited to Calcutta,

UTKAL DIPAKA.

were properly respected and honoured. Their interviews with the Viceroy and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal were opportune and pleasant. The Editor then points out that the ranks of the Orissa Rajahs are very high, that they are Tributary Chieftains, and, as such, wield great powers in their respective territories. At the same time the writer regrets that these Rajahs always confine themselves within the jurisdictions of their respective territories, and are thus deprived of the advantages that attend a journey to Presidency towns and other noted places. The Editor advises those Rajahs that were absent from the above meetings to make early arrangements to proceed thither without delay. The paper also rejoices to find that the Rajahs who went together in the same steamer have cultivated one another's friendship, which is the more valuable as the Rajahs scarcely meet together.

83. The same paper gives an abstract account of the Government Report on Canal Resolution on the Report on Canal Revenue for 1882-83, and remarks as follows:—

UTKAL DIPAKA.

"From the above statistics it will be evident that the Government far from earning anything from canal works loses a great deal every year. Though the income from water-rates is uncertain, and that from navigation is encouraging, still the charges incurred on canal works can never be met therefrom, but we find that the Government are not yet hopeless. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has stated that the Secretary of State has sanctioned the extension of the distributary system. In case the number of such canals increases Government revenue may increase in time. We are, however, sorry to state that though we have been assured of the advantages of the canal system in such language as this from the year 1868, nothing whatever has occurred to show that the canals are in any way paying to Government. We are at a loss to find out the reason that has made Government enamoured of the canal system. We still hope that Government will find out their mistake in time, and instead of wasting a great deal on canals utilize the same in rail work, which must place Orissa in easy communication with other Provinces and thereby open the channels of her progress and prosperity."

84. The Editor of the same paper, in a long article, describes the

UTKAL DIPAKA.

The International Exhibition. proceedings in connection with the opening ceremony of the Calcutta International Exhibition, and is happy to learn that most of the Orissa exhibits that were rejected in the first instance were afterwards admitted.

UTKAL DIPAKA,
Dec. 15th 1883.

UTKAL DIPAKA.

UTKAL DIPAKA.

UTKAL DIPAKA.

PURSOTTAM PATRIKA,
Dec. 17th, 1883.

PURSOTTAM PATRIKA.

TARAKA,
November 1883.

85. A correspondent of the same paper reports that a regiment of soldiers is on march through the boundaries of Troops on march. Banki, *via* Kalapathar road. The local Sub-

Deputy Collector is present in Kalapathar, where he tries by all means to procure eatables for them. Unfortunately many surbarakars are extorting eatable things from poor subjects. People are forced to sell goats and sheep at the fabulously cheap rate of 4 annas each.

86. The same paper is very glad to find that the price of rice has decreased by two annas, but the writer at the same time regrets that the supply of paddy coming to the Balasore town is very small.

87. The same paper, together with its contemporaries, approves of Kumar Baikunthanath De. the action of Government in appointing Kumar Baikunthanath De a member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The International Exhibition.

Calcutta, and urges every one to proceed thither.

89. We extract the following from the correspondence and news columns of the same paper :—(1) The nomination of Baboo Nityanund Ghose, Sudder

Canoongos of Balasore, for the post of Dewan at Nilgiri is approved of; (2) the crops to the north of Haldipada are in the worst condition imaginable; (3) many poor people near Chanua are selling off their cattle and cooking utensils simply to earn a scanty livelihood; and (4) the coast canal works are looked upon by many as their last resource for supporting themselves.

90. The *Purusottam Patrika*, of the 17th December, also rejoices to find Kumar Baikunthanath De appointed a member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Editor gives an account of the proceedings in connection with the opening ceremony of the Calcutta International Exhibition, and very loyally welcomes their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught to India.

91. The same paper passes some severe strictures on the Pooree Police, which recently violated the sanctity of a Hindu zenana in carrying off by force

a female belonging to the houses of Joji Mekap and Bhikari Mekap, who was suspected of having given birth to a baby found lying on the Haraschandi Sahi road in the Pooree town. The Editor then uses the following words :—

" What a great oppression in this!—Reader! What cannot the police do when they are determined to do mischief? Is there no remedy against these evils? Most people living under British protection sigh for the days of the old Mogul when there was no end to oppression and suffering."

92. The *Taraka*, for November 1883, draws the attention of district officers to the impending famine, which, in its opinion, must occur ere long.

RAJKRISHNA MUKHOPADHYAYA, M.A. & B.L.

Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 5th January 1884.